THE MILITANT

Published Twice a Month by the Communist League of America (Opposition)

VOL. IV, No. 6 (Whole No. 65 | NEW YORK, MARCH 15, 1931 | PRICE 5 CENTS

In Prison..

A Letter from Exile

I have already written you that one of the "jailors" of L. S. Sosnovsky in Tomsk prison was arrested for having transmitted letters from comrade Sosnovsky to our friends. This fact is now precisely verified. The prison employee who transmitted the material of L. S. Sosnovsky to the outside, was arrested and then shot by the G. P. U. I guarantee the veracity of this news.

Uncertainty and disorder prevail in the G. P. U., as everywhere else. The distrust of everybody and everything is incredible. For the least suspicion, often based on nothing, for example, for a polite attitude towards the Oppositionist prisoners, or for an "indulgent" raid, etc., the G. P. U. workers are dismissed. For the slightest negligence, there are arrests. For any support or assistance to the Opposition, a shooting takes place so as to terrorize the others.

It must also be said that the distrust of the head of the G. P. U., even of its own collaborators, is very comprehensible. During the raids in deportation and even in prison, we often run into semi-sympathizers among the agents of the G. P. U. Of course, they do not show themselves openly, but they carry out their dirty-work, as far as we are concerned, with disgust. There have often been instances where raids have been made among us in such a way that nothing is found.

Among the arrested Oppositionists, comrade Philip Schwalbe is under the harshest conditions. It is now almost ten months that he has been in the internal prison of the G. P. U., and that he is literally wasted by tuberculosis (he loses blood in great quantity). His two brothers are arrested with him. No communication is permitted with him and absolutely nothing is known about him. He is being held in the most savage isolation. Comrade Philip Schwalbe (former secretary to Kamenev) is accused by the G. P. U. of having transmitted to the Left Opposition the report of the famous interview between Kamenev and Bucharin.

Besides the Schwalbe brothers, 12 Oppositionists are incarcerated—students of the Jugo-Slav section of the Communist University of the Western Peoples.

The great poverty of skilled workers, especially in the distant provinces, sometimes (it is the exception) compels the giving of work to deported Oppositionists (to workers of high skill) in some economic institution or another. But there too, it does not happen without petty meanness. For instance, the Oppositionist workers are deprived of the right . . . to eat in the restaurant of the enterprise where they work. Those are the methods by which one is obliged to defend the "general line."

H. M. Sjermuks, the former secretary to comrade Trotsky, has been deported for three years now to the city of **Cherepvts.** He is deprived of all work. —H. H.

PARIS COMMUNE

Hold Open
Saturday, March 21, 1931
FOR THE PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATION
organized by the
New York Branch, Communist League of America (Opposition)
at the
HUNGARIAN HALL, 323 East 79th Street
A Prominent Band Will Furnish Music
Admission 50c 60c at the Door

«Progessives» Meet

Middle Class Impotence Can't Solve the Burning Problems of Labor

Following a session of Congress which failed to contribute one iota to solving the problems ravaging the economic life of the country and inflicting indescribable misery upon the working class—a Congress which not only marked the stark reaction of the Hoover administration but also the impotence of the "progressive group" in the Senate—the latter summoned a conference in Washington where the flower of American middle class liberal thought gathered to express themselves on the problems that Hoover's Congress failed to solve.

What attitude did the Progressive Conference assume towards that section of the population upon whom practically the whole burden of the deep-going crisis has fallen: the workers? That is the test of any political group in the country, especially now. And it is precisely on this point that the "progressive" leaders demonstrated their incapacity to rise above their source, their bloodless impotence, their inherent inability to break from the class of big business and big finance, behind which they are constantly trailing.

Norris, LaFollette jr., and the small group of Senators and Representatives that follows their leadership, are the representatives of the largest petty bourgeoisie in the world. The futile aspirations of the farmer squeezed by finance capital, and the urban middle class, are reflected in all the principal actions of the progressives. For years, since the days of the activity of the elder LaFollette and even before that, the middle class progressives in both of the old parties have followed a more or less common course, attempting in vain to steer between the representatives of finance capital who control Congress, and the interests of the only historically progressive class—the working class. The fight "against the trusts" conducted by a declining middle class—a fight doomed from its inception—was no less hopeless than the fight the middle class, raked from all sides by the fire of the crisis, is now conducting to save its social and economic position in highly centralized American capitalist society. For the big bourgeoisie seeks to issue from its crisis not only at the expense of lowering the standard of living of the working class, but of further assaults upon the middle class as well.

Torn between the fear of finance capital on the one hand, and the working class on the other, the representatives of the middle class—and those spurious "labor" leaders like Sidney Hillman and William Green do not fall entirely outside of that category—convened and accomplished absolutely nothing. The mildness in attitude towards Hoover expressed in the resolution adopted created surprise even in the capitalist press. Outside of an empty criticism of the administration for failing to act upon the unemployment problem, the progressives themselves advanced no program that the working class might rely upon to relieve it in these times of wretchedness and misery. The problem of relations with the Soviet Union was officially tabooed by the conference, and the only mention of it was made by the faithful servant of capital, William Green, who spoke with the voice of reaction against the workers' republic. And this at a time when the recognition of Russia and the extension of long-term credits that would enable it to purchase machinery here would aid considerably in ameliorating the position of the unemployed.

Fear to act, inability to act; windy protest and political impotence—these are the characteristics with which the Washington conference was fatally invested in advance by the very nature of its sponsors and the interests they represent. No more striking symbol of middle class futility could be given than the transfer of "leadership" from Norris to the younger LaFollette, accompanied by the wistful regret that he would not live to see the sun rise above the mountain. The American petty bourgeoisie will never see the sun rise for it. Here, as everywhere else, it is incapable of playing a leading rôle in society. Its fear of falling into the ranks of the proletariat it despises drives it at every crucial moment to seek shelter under the wing of big capital. It is powerless to defend itself, it is infinitely less capable of defending the class interests of the proletariat. To free itself from the mental enslavement to the decrepit middle class leaders, and from the petty bourgeois labor leaders, is the first pre-requisite to independence and victory for the working class.

Anti-Communist Repression Spreads Throughout the Country

I.L.D. Refuses to Aid Philly Defendants

PHILADELPHIA.—

The habeas corpus action for the release of comrades Leon Goodman and Bernard Morgentsern, members of the Communist League of America (Opposition) arrested on International Unemployment Day for distributing our leaflets, and held for sedition, was argued on Friday afternoon, and the judge took the matter under consideration, asking both sides to file briefs. As soon as the proceedings were finished, Morgenstein was bailed out, and, with Goodman already out, this automatically terminates the H. C. proceedings. It is now a clear-cut matter that they are out on bail awaiting trial for sedition and distributing seditious literature. Trial will take place within the next two months.

We attended the Anti-Sedition Conference of the International Labor Defense today. It was, as usual, a party affair with delegates from only their shadow organizations present. There were, however, perhaps a score of workers present who were not delegates. About 60 to 70 present in all.

Engdahl made the usual speech about a mass struggle and outlined a campaign of activities for collecting signatures for petitions to repeal the Flynn Sedition Act.

The Local organizer of the I. L. D., (Ross) who had told comrade Goodman that he would take up the matter of the arrests, had evidently "taken it up", because in his speech he carefully ignored our case. After his speech, the floor was thrown open and I was given five minutes. I called the attention of those present to the fact that while Ross had known of the arrests, he had ignored them. I pointed out that they had been arrested while distributing leaflets, and also **a notice to workers to attend the demonstration of the party at the City Hall Plaza on February 25.** I pointed out that Engdahl had said that the bosses had a united front, and I urged that the workers form as broad a one as possible. I asked them not to let factionalism obscure the fact that a conviction of Morgenstern and Goodman meant a blow to them also. I concluded by asking that they help us, and that they permit us to cooperate with them.

Of course, when I had finished, a party member took the floor and said the usual tripe.

All this was lost on the loyalists. They have no function other than to raise their hands, we know, but **it did have considerable effect upon newer and less fractional elements.** One young fellow, seemingly native American (we don't know him) took the floor and said political differences should not govern in this matter; that the I. L. D. not being a political organization, should not make that the basis for discrimination. He wanted a committee to be elected to investigate our status, and if we were genuine workers, that we be seated and not excluded because of our political differences. Another asked that the matter be not closed but that more discussion be given to it. Several wanted the floor, seemingly not satisfied with the exclusion, but the motion was finally railroaded through.

In spite of the deliberate sabotage of this obligation to defend workers picked out by capitalist class justice, our comrades intend proceeding with the work of setting in motion a united front movement to fight against the indictment and against the Sedition Act which is aimed at the militant labor movement as a whole.

—K. M. WHITTEN.

The national office of the Communist League has written to J. Louis Engdahl, secretary of the I. L. D., on this mater, pointing out the significance of the Philadelphia arrests and requesting the intervention of the I. L. D. in accordance with the later's expressed policy of defending all workers regardless of political or economic viewpoints. Up to this writing, no reply has been received .And that is not entirely surprising. The bureauchats in charge of the I. L. D. are more interested in the maintenance of their factional solidity than in defending a "Trotskyist" worker. Their attitude appears to be that the "Trotskyists" may rot in jail for committing the crime of questioning the correctness of the course pursued in the Communist movement by the Fosters, Stachels, Engdahls and other agents of the Stalinist apparatus. No more criminal attitude than this can be imagined. We expect little better from these sold souls. But what do the workers in the I. L. D., to whom the class struggle is not a faction football, say to this procedure?

Police Raid Minneapolis Opposition Forum

Following a sharp encounter between unemployed workers and the police which took place in Minneapolis on International Unemployment Day (February 25), occasioned by the attempts of the workers rendered desperate by their state of misery to seizing food at one of the well-known city's markets, the police have launched a violent campaign of suppression against the revolutionary movement. The citadel of Farmer-Labor party reformism in the North-west is now the scene of an anti-Red hysteria reminiscent of the Palmer days in 1919-1920. Stricken with fear at the militancy of the hungry and jobless workers who are getting fed up by the capitalist politicians and their empty promises, a concerted attempt is being made to drive the whole Communist movement underground so as to cut down its effectiveness in fighting for the needs of the workers.

Vincent Dunne, Twin Cities Opposition leader, writes us:

"We are having quite stirring and eventful times here. The Communist party is underground to all intents and purposes. The Communist League is also sharply affected. Our last open forum was broken up by an army of police and our hall closed. We will of course make an issue of it and put up a fight. The League, because of its basis in the unions, is in much better shape as to mass contact than the party. We have succeeded in having a resolution of protest (covering the whole business of police suppression of workers' meetings) passed by the Organization Committee of the union movement. A fight will be made in the Central Labor Union for further agitation".

The attack on the Communists is an attack upon the vanguard of the labor movement. Through it, the capitalists seek to sever the head from the shoulders of the working class. While the reformists plead for a crumb to the starving workers so as to lull them into passivity, the Communists are **fighting** for the relief of the workers driven into poverty and suffering. The capitalists recognize this keenly enough. They are assailing the working class as a whole through the assault upon the vanguard. The workers must present a solid front against the reaction.

EDITORIAL NOTES

MORE TREASON TO THE MINERS

Events of the past week in the Illinois coal fields provide another striking illustration of the rôle of pseudo-radicalism as a come-on for reaction. The great revolt of the miners there, which broke out of the bonds of Lewis and his outspokenly reactionary policy, was corralled more than a year ago by the Fishwick-Walker-Howat faction and diverted from its purpose. They could not do this by talking as Lewis talked. In order to head off, and tame, and finally break the uprising of the miners the Illinois leaders were obliged to put on the mask of "progressivism". They appeared to express in words the militant aspirations of the insurgent workers. By this means, and with the help of the entire national movement of counterfeit progressivism, they deceived the miners and led them into a blind alley. Now, after having broken and disorganized the revolt, they have put the crowning touch to their betrayal.

Press reports from Springfield carry the news now of the liquidation of their sham battle with Lewis. They have signed a court decree recognizing the Lewis faction as heads of the International Union, and have issued a statement calling upon Lewis to join in a move with them to "end all warfare". With the miners once more at the mercy of the coal operators, nothing remains except a division of spoils between the reactionaries and their progressive whips.

To the very end the latter ran true to form. It is all in the interest of the miners. "To continue this fight," their statement says, "would mean the absolute destruction of the United Mine Workers of America." Which is their way of saying: The miners are defeated—what is there left to fight about?

This shameful betrayal of a really magnificent movement of the miners was made possible by the policy of the official Communist party. Driven by events and the criticism of the Opposition to a break with the opportunist course they followed in union with Lovestone, the Fosters plunged—in the characteristic manner of unprincipled Centrism—into a policy of wild adventurism that had no relation to the facts of the situation. They disrupted the party and Left wing forces by their mad campaign against the best revolutionaries within them. They "boycotted" the convention where Fishwick and Walker, with the help of Howat, were consolidating their movement. The false radicals were thus left a free hand. All the rest followed from that.

In the tragic experience of the Anglo-Russian Committee there was written, as in gigantic letters on a vast canvas, an example and warning for all time of the perfidious function of reformism, and particularly of its "Left" section. Every concrete experience, such as that of the Illinois miners, only serves to reiterate that warning. Reformism is bourgeois poison in the labor movement. The workers can be victorious only in irreconcilable struggle against it.

"AGAINST EXAGGERATION."

If you live long enough, they say in Missouri, you will see everything. The proverb is not without merit. It affords a sort of philosophic protection against apoplexy from shocks and surprises. No doubt there were many who remembered it gratefully in that sense the other day when they read the front page editorial in the **Daily Worker** entitled "Against Exaggeration". In that editorial it was promised that henceforth there is to be no more padding of figures regarding attendance at party demonstrations. And to make it more authoriative a day or so later "Red Sparks" himself promised to tell the truth from now on. He acknowledged that "exaggeration" is a "bad habit"; and he pledged himself, with all the fervor of a man who has come to Christ late in life, that he also would overcome it. Later followed articles on the subject. The movement against "exaggeration" has become a campaign.

Is this a moral regeneration? Have these people given up the idea that they can lie the capitalist system out of existence, and with it 120 million "fascists"? Such hopes are optimistic and exaggerated. The whole thing has a political explanation.

During the "third period" which was alleged to be characterized by a "revolutionary upsurge of the masses" it was necessary—in order to substantiate the theory—to have huge crowds at all demonstrations organized by the party. And if the masses didn't exist at the demonstrations it was necessary to invent them. That is why the crowds which marched through the streets were always outnumbered, five or ten to one, by the legions marching through the columns of the **Daily Worker.**

Now it is different. The "third period" theory is being dropped (without saying so) and the party leaders are marking out tactics for a two-and-a-half period. Adventurism is giving way to minimal reformism. The swing from fighting the police and capturing the streets to knocking on back doors with modest petitions requires different reports about the attitude of the masses. If the "third period" needed exaggeration in this respect the present period calls for the opposite. The crowds must grow smaller as the slogans and demands become more moderate. This is the explanation of the campaign against "exaggeration."

MILLER'S MANIFESTO

The poet Goldsmith in "The Deserted Village" drew an immortal picture of the schoolmaster whose assorted knowledge was the marvel of all men. His listeners—who didn't understand him—stood open-mouthed before his display of wisdom, fascinated by the spectacle. Goldsmith tells it, if memory serves:

"And still they watched and still their wonder grew
That one small head could carry all he knew."

Goldsmith's pedagogue perished ingloriously with the doomed village of the poet's lament. But his undying spirit rises from the dust and finds reincarnation in a school teacher of our own day, one whose head is also crammed with knowledge that is hidden from other humans.

We refer of course to Bert Miller, the Trotsky-killer, who has leaped into the white light of fame with a discovery which he has proclaimed to the world in a manifesto. This unique document was printed in the March 7th issue of Lore's paper, the New York **Volkseltung.** And with an unerring newspaper instinct the editor ran it in the department headed "Of Interest To Everybody." Miller has been looking around—prospecting, so to speak—for a grouping that can serve as the center and directing force for the Left wing. He has found it, he says, not in the Communist movement but in the Muste organization—the C. P. L. A.—and with the enthusiasm of the 49'er, who found gold in the gravel bottom of a shallow creek, he shouts aloud his discovery.

What are the merits of the reformist organization of Muste and Co. which entitle it to replace the Communist movement as the organizing center of the workers' vanguard? Miller lists a number of them. Among other things, "it is distinctly American in its approach". As we know, the C. P. L. A. has been fighting the Communists. But this slight defect—if it can be called a defect—is more than compensated for by the fact that "it provides a common ground for cooperation with Leftward moving elements such as the 'Militants' in the Socialist party".

Miller, it is clear, is no "sectarian". And he is not one of those who learn nothing and forget nothing from experiences and defeats. It is true he analyzes defeats in his own peculiar way—in order to repeat them. The international experience of the Communist movement under the Stalin-Bucharin leadership has not passed without carving its mark on Miller's brain. The fact that the C. P. L. A. has a political character, as a wing of social democracy, does not deter him. He asks the rhetorical question, "Is it permissable for Communists to join middle-of-the road political, non-Communist organizations?" And, instructed by the catastrophic defeats suffered by the Comintern in the East, he answers, Yes! "It is not only permissible", he says, "but it is absolutely necessary". And how does he know? Because it has been shown by our experience with the Indian Nationalist movement, the Kuo Min Tang and the British Labor Party."

He might have added that it is also shown by the large number of people who have passed over in recent times from the Right wing of Communism to the social democracy. This step, as we have pointed out before, is the culmination of Right wing logic. The fact that Miller, and with him a group of nine others from the Lovestone camp, are jumping ahead of the faction as a whole in this respect does not signify a conflict in principle.

Miller, like Goldsmith's hero of the same profession, is a man of learning, and like all savants, a bit of a philosopher. Communism, as he ses it now, is a nebulous thing in America, while social reformism, like truth, is concrete; and its slogans, as Muste formulates them, "are well suited to the present stage of development of the American labor movement." If he is rushing where Lovesotne still fears to tread, it is merely a question of tempo. The philosophers of movements are always in advance of the politicians and organizers. Lovestone will catch up. Give him time.

A GREAT STEP FORWARD.

Slowly but none the less surely the Communist League forges ahead. As this number of **The Militant** goes to press we are able to record another signal achievement in the publication of the English edition of the International Bulletin of the Left Opposition. For an organization of our limited resources even such an accomplishment, involving additional technical and editorial labors and expense, is worthy of note. And we should value it all the higher because of its paramount political importance.

The Left Opposition is first, last and always the faction of revolutionary internationalism. In the name of internationalism we have taken our stand and under its banner we conduct our fight. Stalinism, with its circumscribed outlook of national socialism, has dealt powerful blows to the international movement of the workers' vanguard and is still dealing them. We will not accept the caricature it attempts to substitute for the international organization of the proletariat projected by Lenin, and before him by Marx. Neither will we adopt the Brandler idea of platonic relations between independent and autonomous national sections. We have broken forever with the spurious internationalism of bureaucratic command. But all the more are we obliged to replace it—in the policy we defend before the entire movement and in our own work—with a living internationalism consciously and deliberately achieved.

We do not believe in the theory of socialism in one country. And no more do we believe the various national sections of the world Communist movement can live isolated national lives and solve their problems exclusively by their own resources. This conception holds for the faction no less than for the party.

The internationalism toward which we strive is the fraternal union of the Communist workers of the entire world under one single flag. We strive for a reconstitution of the international Lenin army, imbued with a common ideology and regulated by international discipline. In anticipation of this, and in order to make our work fruitful for its realization, the international faction of the Left Opposition must be so organized. The Left, that is, the Marxist faction is and must be at once the fundamental nucleus and the advance guard of the reconstituted Lenin International.

How will we guarantee this? Not by say-so merely, and not by trusting to the ability of the various sections to work out a correct line on national and international problems without mutual assistance. Sad experience has already spoken on this point in the most emphatic manner. No, we must push forward at all cost toward the consolidation of the Left Opposition on an international scale into a single organization, and function as such. Real progress has already been made, as we know. The conference of last year and the constitution of the International Bureau were historic milestones along this path. It is a self-evident necessity to cooperate heartily with the International Bureau and strengthen its authority.

But that is not enough. All sections must steer a deliberate course toward real participation in the affairs of the others and in the common international tasks. This duty is particularly insistent for us because we inherit from the past a certain insularity and we are hampered by barriers of distance and language. All the more necessary, therefore, is a conscious struggle to surmount them. The translation of the International Bulletin and its publication in English creates the primary conditions for the success of this struggle. We have no doubt that the members of the Communist League will recognize the importance of this event and make the most of it.

It mill be remembered in this connection that the publication of the International Bulletin was listed as one of the items in our program of expansion for the current year. Its speedy realization has been made possible by the prompt response of the New York branch to the campaign for the two thousand dollar fund to finance this program. The other items in the program will follow in order as the other branches get in step.

—J. P. C.

Our Subsciption Drive

The drive for new subscriptions and renewals is just beginning to get under way. Some of the branches have already sent in results. To stimulate the campaign, we are making the following SPECIAL OFFERS, good only during the duration of the drive.

With every 1 year sub. for $2.00
FREE—either one of the following Trotsky pamphlets:
Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International.
Strategy of the World Revolution or Since Lenin Died by Max Eastman

With every 6 mos. sub. for $1.00
FREE—any of the following Trotsky pamphlets:
World Unemployment and the Five Year Plan
Communism and Syndicalism
The Revolution in Spain

Trial subs.—3 months for 25c

For subscription collectors we offer as follows:

With 5 yearly subs.—$10.00
FREE—1 copy of Trotsky's **My Life**

With 3 yearly subs.—$6.00
FREE—1 bound volume of **The Militant** for 2 and a half years.

With 3 yearly subs. $6.00
FREE—1 colorful beaded watch fob, made by comrade Malkin while in prison.

Enclosed find $.....for.....subs. Send me free of charge the items marked above.

NAME .....

ADDRESS ..... CITY .....

THE MILITANT, Vol. IV No. 6, March 15, 1931. Published twice monthly by the Communist League of America (Opposition) at 84 East 10th St., New York, N. Y. Subscription rate: $2.00 per year; foreign $2.50. Five cents per copy. Bundle rates 3 cents per copy. Editorial Board: Martin Abern, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, Maurice Spector, Arne Swabeck. Entered as second class mail matter, November 28, 1928 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1870 (Total No. 65).

The Strike Strategy of the Left Wing

By ARNE SWABECK

In a serious discussion of problems of strike strategy the most determining factors should receive first consideration. Unfortunately that has not been the case within the recent experience of the revolutionary movement. In an effort to overcome that failing, but with no pretense of having ready-made solutions, we enumerate the following points:

1. The problem of correct analysis of existing conditions.
2. The question of attitude toward union organization.
3. A well defined Leninist united front policy.
4. The strike issues, demands and slogans.
5. Independent leadership of the revolutionary vanguard.

It should be quite superfluous to emphasize here that the general attitude toward strike policy of the present reactionary A. F. of L. officials can only be the sharpest condemnation. As agents of capitalism, progenitors of the theory of partnership between labor and capital, their views are definitely against all strikes. When compelled by rank and file pressure to get into motion they seek to limit the strikes within narrow craft bounds and look toward the first avenue of escape through betrayal. This must always be borne in mind and as much as possible guarded against in a strike situation. Moreover, this very question assumes vital proportions even in case of strikes led by independent unions of the T. U. U. L. At least in all such instances in the recent past the A. F. of L. officialdom, or sections of it have played their part.

What Strike Strategy is Not

But we have recent experiences also in the attitude and conduct of the Left wing in serious workers' struggles of what strike strategy is not. For example, the irresponsible manner in which the slogan for strike has been promulgated. One need recall only August first two years ago when the party leadership called for strike aginst the war danger. The American workers would have been quite justified then in posing the question, why strike against war danger on just that date? To such a strike call not even the independent unions, (which then had somewhat of a membership) under the party control, could respond. And, of course, there was no strike.

We may also recall the time of the dastardly murder of Ella May Wiggin by the Black Hundreds of southern reaction. The party leadership immediately made a grand gesture, calling upon the American workers to strike in protest. Such a strike, if it came, would naturally be of a highly political character and require at least some ideological preparation. Such was not the case and the call left the workers entirely untouched. Neither in this case could be independent unions even think of getting their members to respond, and they did not try. Strikes are quite serious actions, and should not be played with in such light-minded fashion.

In the simple matter of the method of calling strikes we have some very good lessons of how not to do it. When, for example, the Marine Workers Industrial Union under party leadership, called the strike of the Philadelphia water front workers last year, the small matter of first consulting the workers was entirely overlooked. So at least reported Wm. Lawrence in his "self-criticism" in the **Daily Worker** at the time. Is it any wonder that the strike extended only to the party functionaries of the union? These light-minded, bureaucratic triflers came in grave danger of being run off the water front. But what is far more serious is the fact that the union lost all prestige on the water front because the grievances of these workers were sufficiently deep-seated for serious strike action. Similarly in the Illinois miners strike, during December 1929, the Centrist bureaucrats in leadership did not consider it necessary to take a rank and file strike vote or to make any serious preparations for strike. Hence, despite the favorable situation of miners being aroused by the heavy assaults upon their working conditions and being in revolt against their old union officials, the strike failed to rally any appreciable support. It was easily crushed by the united efforts of the mine owners, the old union reactionary officials and the state armed forces. As a consequence the National Miners Union was wiped out in Illinois, leaving no trace behind.

When the results of the present strike of the New York Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union can be fully accounted it is quite certain that another sad chapter may be added to this blundering policy.

Revolutionary strategy must particularly take into account the basic tendencies of the given period. In a strike situation it assumes the form of very definite factors to be correctly analyzed, viz.: What is the basic curve of the working class movement, is it an upward or a downward one —an offensive or a defensive one? How fully have the issues matured and preparations been completed? What is the relationship of forces and how fully can the workers be mobilized?

Needless to emphasize that in the examples already cited on this very first essential, the one of correct analysis, the party leadership also made its first mistakes. From wrong estimates naturally flow wrong conclusions. However, when correct estimates are made, other factors being equal, a revolutionary strike leadership, while it can never guarantee victory in advance, can at least secure a basis for growing influence upon the masses.

The question of union organization,—the relation of the independent unions to the A. F. of L.,—is by no means settled by the empty formula of "revolutionary unions" versus "company unions". Neither of these terms are correct in the present situation and when made the foundation for a revolutionary attitude towards the problem become entirely false. Unions in order to function as unions must naturally embrace a sufficiently decisive section of the workers in an industry. As such they will reflect the general level of the working class and cannot at this time become a simple reflex of the revolutionary party. Nor should they be made a battle ground for its possible political differences. This the party leadership has attempted with its independent unions and it is one of the reasons that they have been reduced in several instances to paper organizations.

The object must not be to transform the independent unions into auxiliaries of the party for momentary aims. It must be rather to gain influence over the masses through the unions.

The A. F. of L. unions are, of course, not company unions but merely organizations of workers under the influence and domination of the reactionary officials and their policies.

To assume the attitude of A. F. of L. company unions will inevitably create a wall of hostility between these two sections of the workers where, instead, efforts toward rank and the unity in struggle should be applied. Problems of strikes are intimately bound up with union organization. With a coming rise of the labor movement, which is bound to occur, the prospects for organization of new independent unions are very good. But we may conclude that for some time to come, at least, the A. F. of L. unions will be a factor to reckon with even in industries where new unions can be organized,—and likely a major factor. Success for the new union movement can best be assured with corresponding efforts also to influence the workers through the A. F. of L. In other words it involves also the problem of building a Left wing in the old unions to become an instrument for co-operation in the task of organizing the American working class into militant unions.

The United Front Policy in Strike Strategy

This brings us to the question of applying the united front policy as Lenin taught it. Particularly is this imperative in the union field and in strikes despite the resistance that reactionaries will offer. Their charges against the independent unions of being rival or dual unions should not frighten anybody. But we must recognize that the independent unions so far are rather insignificant, hampered in their natural growth by all sorts of foolish blunders and wrong conceptions, though even with this being eliminated they will perhaps for some time remain a minority. However, being organized on the basis of the class struggle they must become the initiators of the united front policy, particularly in strikes. With the Left wing co-operating from within the old unions the prospects for success become more favorable. With such a policy pursued preparatory to and in the present strike of the New York Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union the outlook would have been a different one.

It is perhaps best to illustrate by a concrete example how the united front policy could be correctly applied. During the struggles in the Southern textile industry we recall that with short intervals the strikers of Gastonia and of Marion suffered the murderous attacks of the Black Hundred gangs organized by the textile barons. The former were members of the N. T. W. affiliated with the T. U. U. L., the latter were members of the U. T. W., affiliated with the A F. of L. The National Textile Workers Union, directed by the party leadership, made an effort to unite the workers of both mill towns for the struggle under its own auspices. The results were practically nill and most likely due to the fact that this effort was tantamount to asking the Marion workers to give up their organization, which could not be expected. Undoubtedly, the possibilities were excellent for the setting up of a genuine united front body comprising the local membership of both organizations. The fact that the reactionary leaders of the U. T. W. would resist should have been no deterrent. The workers would be sure to be in favor, which would swing them all the more under the influence of the correct policies proposed by the Left wing.

Clarity of Strike Issues Essential

Too many strikes of recent date, under party leadership, have suffered from lack of clarity as to the issues involved. In some cases the demands have been altogether out of proportion to the objective possibilities, while others have experienced so many detailed demands that the vital issues have been obscured. Consequently the slogans became too far removed from the life of the workers. Demands and slogans must first of all be based on the correct objective analysis of the workers' needs, of the basic tendencies available and of the possibilities at hand. They must particularly have the quality of setting the workers into motion and unifying them in struggle. Naturally this does not preclude the necessity, at times, when settlements are to be arrived at, of certain compromises being made.

Thorough preparation in an ideological sense, so that the workers may clearly perceive what the fight is about, should be a foregone conclusion. But just as essential is thorough preparation of the strike itself, its machinery, etc.

To attain independent leadership by the revolutionary vanguard in strike struggles is, of course, our aim. But that is by no means reached by the method of splitting off small working class sections to lead. The real object should be to win the working masses away from their present reactionary leaders and bring them under our influence. Workers are quite unsophisticated and do not accept as their leaders those whom we may think should lead, merely because of our thinking so. They accept as leaders only those who by virtue of their accomplishments have shown their ability and the superiority of their program. Labor skates may lead for a time but ultimately, correct programs, courageously applied, will win.

The Anti-Red Drive in Greece

For several years now, the white terror of the Venezelos dictatorship has been ravaging the labor movement of Greece with particular viciousness. By means of the outrageous Anti-Communist Law, the best revolutionary elements in the country have been thrown into the prisons of the dictatorship in hundreds, and subjected to unheard of torture and repression. In the army too, an insufferable régime has been instituted, producing widespread discontent and even mutiny: Of late, the government's reprisals have taken on an especially acute character, hitting hardest the members of the Greek Communist party and our comrades of the Left Opposition, the "Archio-Marxists". In face of all this, the necessity of united class action and workers solidarity in the struggle against the terror is slowly penetrating the consciousness of all Greek communists.

Recently, the mutiny of Kalpaki, (a military concentration camp) led by the Communist army nucleus there, has resulted in a broad protest movement in the Greek working class. The soldiers of Kalpaki, under the leadership of comrade Vlatas, had petitioned against the intolerably long hours of hard labor imposed upon them. When their petition was answered by increased arrogance on the part of the officers they refused to return to work. The sergeant in command fired on them, whereupon the Communists Markovits and Panousis jumped forward and unarmed him, receiving wounds in the shoulder and in the leg. A drum head court martial condemned the two Communist soldiers to capital punishment. Immediately, a defense movement arose in the industrial cities in Greece, in which the Communists have taken a leading part. The movement is still growing and is assuming international proportions.

Thus far, the consolidation of a fighting united front in defense of Markovitis and Panousis, has made but little progress. Communist soldiers of the Left Opposition who had served at Kalpaki have been refused by the party lawyers of the Greek I. L. D. as witnesses in the retrial of the two militants. The party has not yet answered officially to the Opposition's united front proposal. Nevertheless, the "Archio-Marxists" are, for their part, applying the tactic of the united front in practise, regardless of the party's attitude.

On January 12, the retrial was to be held. A week before the trial our comrades issued a leaflet calling upon the workers and students of Athens and Pireus to demonstrate and bring pressure upon the court. Two of our comrades, who were distributing the leaflet in Pireus, were attacked by the police and wounded. In response to the leaflet, about 800 workers and students came to the demonstration. Although our comrades were in disagreement with the party's slogan to meet at a distance away from the courthouse, and for a demonstration right in front of it, they nevertheless complied with the party's slogan so as not to divide the forces. In the Islands (Crete, etc.), 5 of these comrades made a real united front with the C. P. comrades, our comrade S . . . receiving a fractured arm, while defending a placard bearer of the party. 20 comrades were arrested. The tribunal has condemned 18 of them to from 8 to 10 months imprisonment and to 5 months of deportation to the Islands (Crete, etc.). 5 of these comrades are members of the Left Opposition.

The Greek press reports that the police has discovered an Archio-Marxist nucleus at Salonica. Among those arrested were four women comrades, two of them students, one a teacher and one a working woman. At the same time there are reports that the police have information about several ele-

(Continued on page 8)

FOR YOUR LIBRARY

THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
A Criticism of Fundamentals Introduction by James P. Cannon
Price 35c 140 pages, hard paper cover In bundles 25c

THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION
Introduction by Max Shachtman
Price 25c 96 pages, 2 color paper cover In bundles 18c

TURN IN THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE GERMAN SITUATION
Price 10c 32 pages, paper cover In bundles 7c

WORLD UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE FIVE YEAR PLAN
Introduction by Arne Swabeck
Price 10c 32 pages, paper cover In bundles 7c

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION
Price 10c 32 pages, paper cover In bundles 7c

COMMUNISM AND SYNIDICALISM (The Trade Union Question)
Introduction by James P. Cannon
Price 15c 64 pages, paper cover In bundles 10c

Soon to appear

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION
Introduction by Max Shachtman
cloth bound book

We also can supply books of other publishers.

On Hand—**SINCE LENIN DIED by Max Eastman**—158 pages
paper cover 50c cloth cover 1.00

MY LIFE by Leon Trotsky ..... Price 5.00

KLORKEIT—official Jewish organof the French Opposition 10c
In bundles 7c

Russian Bulletin—organ of the Russian Opposition 25c
In bundles 18c

THE SUCCESSES OF SOCIALISM AND THE DANGERS OF ADVENTURISM

By LEON TROTSKY

We have always emphasized the universal and historical importance of the experiences and the economic successes of the U. S. S. R., and it would be a superfluous repetition on our part to emphasize it here once more. Nothing better reveals today the striking degradation of the world social democracy than its openly manifested desire to make the U. S. S. R. return to the path of capitalism, as well as its active political solidarity with the imperialist conspirators and the bourgeois sabotagers. Nothing beter characterizes the cowardice and the vileness of the ruling classes of bourgeoisie society, the social democracy included, than their protestations against forced labor in the U. S. S. R. at a time when the clerk of the hereditary slave-owners, MacDonald, with the aid of the Second International, is oppressing three hundred millions in India and keeping the Hindu people in colonial servitude. Can the comparison be made for one instant between the scurryings of the "coalition" or "oppositional" social democracy and the gigantic work which the people roused up by the October revolution is accomplishing towards a new life?

That is precisely why we Marxists are obliged to put the working class of the whole world on guard with special force and insistence against the dangers that are heaping up and threatening the dictatorship of the proletariat, dangers which are the result of the false policy of a leadership that has lost its head.

The official chiefs, the press, the economists—everybody recognizes that the labors of the five year plan converted into a four year plan are being accomplished under extreme tension. The administrative methods of "emulation" show that the rhythms are attained in large measure at the expense of muscles and nerves. We do not for a moment doubt that a certain stratum of workers, above all among the Communists, bring a genuine enthusiasm into the work, and that the broader mass of the workers is drawn by this enthusiasm from time to time into different undertakings. But one would have to be totally ignorant of human psychology and even physiology to believe in the possibility of a mass "enthusiasm" for a work that lasts for a whole number of years.

MASS ENTHUSIASM IN THE CIVIL WAR

The work is carried on to day with the same methods that were used during the civil war. During the war, as is known, our experience and our munitions were not up to snuff. The masses made up for the omissions by their own superiority in numbers, their dash, their enthusiasm. Even during the war, this enthusiasm was not general, especially among the peasantry. The evaders and the deserters at that time played the same rôle as the drunkards who are frequently missing from work and the "floaters" who are constantly changing factories. But in certain periods, under the attacks of the Whites, not only the workers but also the peasants flung themselves into the struggle with a genuinely revolutionary élan. That is how we triumphed.

The civil war lasted three years. Towards the end of the civil war the general tension had reached the extreme limit. We gave up the second Polish campaign, in spite of the onerous conditions of the Riga treaty. A profound reaction against the tension and the privations of the three years of civil war began among the masses of peasants and workers. Among the peasantry, this reaction led to uprisings which embraced the fleet and the army. In workers' circles, it was translated into strikes and the socalled "stalling". Inside the party, the "Workers' Opposition" began to gain in influence. Its strength obviously did not lie in the semi-syndicalist naiveness of its leaders—in general, the dispute of that time did not at all concern the trade unions, as is taught by the stupid official manuals—but in the protest of the masses against the continual tension of forces and in the demand for rest.

In the famous discussion of 1920-1921, the principal argument against the "Trotskyists" of those days, which produced the greatest effect upon the masses, was this: "They want to carry on the work of economic construction with the same methods employed to make war*."

It is in the atmosphere of the reaction against the period of civil war and war Communism that the economic philosophy of the present majority of the Stalinist faction took form: "Slow but sure." The retreat before private peasant economy, the contempt for planned methods, the defense of minimal rhythms, the detachment from the world revolution—all this constitutes the essence of Stalinism for the epoch of 1923-1928. But the well to do middle peasant—the prop and hope of this policy—became, by the force of things, the rich peasant (Kulak) and seized by the throat the dictatorship of the proletariat, whose industrial basis proved to be terribly backward. The period of presumption and indulgence gave way to a period of panic and precipitation. The slogan was issued: "Catch up with and surpass in the briefest possible time." The minimum five year plan of Stalin-Krzhyzhanovsky approved in principle by the Fifteenth Congress was replaced by the new five year plan whose essential elements were borrowed from the Platform of the Opposition. That is what determines the character of the declaration of Rakovsky to the Sixteenth Congress: You have adopted a plan which **can** become a more serious step on the right road and we are prepared to offer you our most loyal cooperation without giving up any of our ideas and reserving the right to defend them in all the disputed questions.

When the Opposition defended—first the necessity itself of elaborating a five year plan, and then of fixed rhythms (the reality proved sufficiently that the rhythms we proposed were not at all illusory, as **all** the members of the present Political Bureau, **without exception,** clamored at that time), in a word—when the Opposition fought for an accelerated industrialization and collectivization against the line of 1923-1928, it regarded the five year plan not as a dogma but as a realizable hypothesis. The collective verification of the plan must be made in the process of work: as to the elements of this verification, they do not lie solely in the figures of socialist bookkeeping, but also in the muscles and nerves of the workers and the political sentiments of the peasants. The party must take all this into account, probe it, verify it, sum it up and generalize it.

HOW THE ECONOMIC TURN WAS CARRIED OUT

In reality, the economic turn towards industrialization and collectivization took place under the lash of administration panic. This panic still rages. It is enough to see the front pages of all the Soviet papers today: there is a complete adaptation to the slogans, the formulae and the appeals of the civil war: front, mobilization, breach in the front, cavalry, etc. . . . the whole seasoned now and then with sporting snobbishness: start, finish, etc. How all this must sicken the serious workers and disgust everybody! While, under the terrible conditions of the civil war, we introduced, not without hesitation, the Order of the Red Flag as a provisional measure (Lenin was at first opposed to it and only accepted it later on as a temporary measure), today, in the thirteenth year of the revolution, there are four or we do not know how many more different Orders. But what is more important is the introduction of the uninterrupted working week, the attachment of workers to enterprises, the extreme augmentation of the intensity of labor. If the realization of these exceptional measures has become possible, it is due to the fact that in the mind of the vanguard stratum they have a provisional character, closely bound up with the idea of the five year plan. Just as during the period of the civil war, the workers and peasants bent all their strength to crush the enemy and assure themselves the right to labor and to rest, the vanguard elements of the working class of today sincerely count upon "catching up with and surpassing" the advanced capitalist countries and of guaranteeing themselves against economic and military dangers. Theoretically, politically and psychologically, the idea of the five year plan has become for the masses the problem of the construction of an armored wall around socialism in one country. The workers find in this the only justification for the extreme tension imposed upon them by the party apparatus.

On the twelfth anniversary, Stalin wrote: "We shall yet see which countries are to be ranged among the most backward and which among the most advanced." Such declarations and others still more categorical were published and reprinted without end. They set the main tone to all the work of the five year plan. In the way of posing these questions before the masses, there are elements of deceit, half deliberate and half unconscious on the part of the bureaucracy, which wants to have the masses believe that the realization of the five year plan will put the U. S. S. R. at the head of the capitalist world. Does not the Kautsky of the apparatus—Varga—believe that the theory of socialism in one country, however absurd in itself, is nevertheless necessary to encourage the workers: the deceptions of the priests for the good of the soul?

STALIN'S "CATCHING UP WITH AND SURPASSING"

For his report to the Sixteenth Congress, Stalin ordered, among many other figures, statistics to prove that at the end of the five year plan the U. S. S. R. "will catch up with and surpass" the capitalist world. The traces of this order are found again in the speech of Stalin. Coming to the central point in the report of the relations between Soviet economy and world economy, the reporter confined himself, unexpectedly, to the following phrase: "We are terribly behind, with regard to the level of development of our industry, the advanced capitalist countries." And he promptly added: "It is only the acceleration of the rhythms of development of our industry that will permit us to catch up with and surpass technically and economically the advanced capitalist countries." Is a single five year plan assumed here or a series of five year plans—of that nothing is known!

With his theoretical rudiments, Stalin was simply frightened by the unexpected information with which he had himself supplied, and instead of presenting the party with exact data of our backward state and showing the real extent of the task which consists of "catching up with and surpassing", Stalin confined himself to smuggling in a small phrase on "our terrible backwardness" (so as to use it in case of need as a justification: there lies the whole art of his politics). As for the mass propaganda, it continues in the spirit of bluff and deception.

But it is not a question of the Soviet Union. The official organs of all the parties of the Comintern do not cease repeating that at the end of the five year plan the U. S. S. R. will be placed in the first ranks of the industrial countries. If that were right, the problem of socialism would be solved at the same time on a world scale. After having caught up with the advanced countries, the Soviet Union with its population of 160,000,000 inhabitants, with its enormous area and riches, would, already in the course of the second five year plan, that is, in three or four years, have to gain a position, in relation to the rest of the capitalist world, of much greater dominance than that which is enjoyed today by the United States. The proletariat of the whole world would be convinced by experience that socialism in one of the most backward countries has created in a few years a living level for the people incomparbly higher than that of the advanced capitalist countries. The bourgeoisie would be unable to resist for another day the impulsion of the working masses. Such a path for the liquidation of capitalism would be the simplest, the most economical, the most "human" and the most certain, if it were . . . correct. In reality it is nothing but a fantasy.

The realization of the five year plan began in 1928-1929, at a level very close to that of pre-war Russia, that is, at a level of misery and barbarism. In the course of 1924-1930, enormous successes were achieved. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union still finds itself today, in the third year of the five year plan, from the point of view of its productive forces, much closer to czarist Russia than to the advanced capitalist countries. Here are some facts and figures.

Four-fifths of the whole productive population with us is engaged in agriculture. In the United States, for each person engaged in agriculture there are 2.7 engaged in industry.

Industrial work with us is five times as productive as agricultural work. In America, agricultural work is twice as productive as it is with us and industrial work —3.5 times. The net production per person in the United States is thus nearly ten times higher than with us.

The power of primary mechanical installation in industry in the United States is calculated at 35,800,000 horse power. In the U. S. S. R. it is 4,600,000, that is, almost one tenth as much. If the power of a horse power is compared to the power of ten men it can be said that in the United States, three steel slaves are at work in industry for every inhabitant while in the U. S. S. R. there is but one steel slave at work for every three inhabitants. If the mechanical motive power is taken into account not only in industry, but also in transportation and in agriculture, the ocmparison would be even more unfavorable for us. Yet mechanical motive power is the surest measure of the power of man over nature.

At the end of the five year plan, the Soviet Union, in case the whole electrification program arranged for should be realized, will dispose of a fourth of the electric power of America, of a sixth of it if the difference in population is taken into account, and of a still smaller fraction of it if the difference in area is considered; and this coefficient assumes that the Soviet plan is realized entirely and that the United States doe not advance one step.

In 1928, the United States produced 38,000,000 tons of pig iron, Germany—12,000,000 tons, the Soviet Union—3,330,000. Steel: United States—52,000,000, Germany —14,000,000, the Soviet Union—4,000,000. In the first year of the five year plan our metal production was equal to that of the United States in 1880; just a half a century ago, the United States produced 4,300,000 tons of metal, with a population equivalent to about a third of the present population of the U. S. S. R. In 1929, the U. S. S. R. produced about 5.000,000 tons of crude metal. This means that the consumption of metal for each citizen of the Soviet republic today is close to a third of what it was a half a century ago for each citizen of the United States.

The present metallurgical production in the United States is 28 percent higher than agricultural production; with us, metallurgical production is almost one-eighteenth of the agricultural production. At the end of the five year plan this relationship should be figured at 1:8. It is needless to explain the significance of metallurgy for the industrialization as well as for the collectivization of agricultural economy.

(Continued in the Next Issue

* In reality, under conditions of very poor productive forces, or better yet, of misery—**without the New Economic Policy,** that is, without the introduction of private interets on the basis of the market—there were not and could not be any other methods than those of war Communism. Before the passage of the N. E. P., the discussion always swerved around the question. The passage to the N. E. P. caused the very object of the discussion to disappear. Only Zinoviev, and to a certain extent Tomsky, continued to repeat the rigmarole on the A B C of trade union questions, without ever having understood what it was all about.

N. Y. OPEN FORUM

March 21: (No Lecture: Entertainment)

March 28: THE SLOGAN OF THE SIX-HOUR DAY
By Arne Swabeck

at the
LABOR TEMPLE
14th Street and Second Avenue
Open at 8 P. M.
Admission: 25c

Auspices: New York branch, Communist League of America (Opposition).

CHICAGO OPEN FORUM

MARCH 22: "The Three Currents of the Communist Movement and Revolutionary Perspectives
By HUGO OEHLER

EVERY SUNDAY 2:30 P. M. at 30 N. Wells St., Chicago

The lecture scheduled for comade Max Shachtman at the Chelsea Labor Lyceum, to be held March 13 was called off by action of our national committee. The reason is the following:

Very recently a conflict arose within the Labor Lyceum between two forces: on the one hand comrades, members of the party and on the other hand non-party workers with the result that the party members were ejected from the Lyceum hall. While we are at all times eager to bring the revolutionary message to workers wherever they may gather we were not willing to keep this speaking engagement which could too easily become interpreted as a support to the fight against the party. We continually carry on our fight against false policies of the party leadership but will not become implied participants in a fight against the party.

Stalin's Speech on the Five Year Plan

Stalin's speech at the conference of the responsible directors of industry in the Soviet Union, gives us once again an opportunity to speak to the French workers about the real situation in the U. S. S. R. More than any other official speech, this last speech of Stalin's distinguishes itself by its bragging, boastfulness and bluff. Stalin has nothing new to say to the responsible leaders of industry—his speech only increases by a degree the spirit of irresponsible adventurism of the centrist leadership in Soviet economy: the slogan of "The five year plan in 4 years "is replaced by the slogan of "the five year plan in 3 years".

Stalin's reasoning is very simple, of the simplicity of the lower bureaucrat. In order to realize an increase of 45 percent, in production in 1931 over that of 1930, two main conditions are necessary: (1) the objective conditions and (2) the subjective conditions. When Stalin attempts to decipher these altogether new and profound formulae, he does not succeed in making us understand even the most elementary thing. Where are the **new** factors which make for a change in the economic policies of the Soviet Union in the direction of an accelerated rhythm of industrialization?

Among the objective conditions favorable for the realization of the Five Year Plan (in the decisive industries) in three years, Stalin enumerates the following: natural resources (minerals, ores, coal, oil, wheat, cotton) a strong power; the support of the laboring masses; a solid party etc. But Stalin has discovered this new America for at least the second time: the first time he used these arguments about the resources of Russia (rubber excepted, it is true) in his polemic against the Left Opposition, in order to create his theory of socialism in one country. It was at that time that he "panneled off" the countries ripe and unripe for the construction of socialism according to the their quantity of natural resources.

The Soviet Union was classed among those countries which thanks to the resources it possesses is equipped **with everything** necessary for the construction and completion of socialism within its own boundaries. Now, it is clear to everybody, that if there are enough resources to transform the entire backward economy of the U. S. S. R. into a socialist economy there must certainly be enough to realize at least a part of the plan of socialization such as that of the third year of the Five Year Plan. The responsible directors of industry, gathered at the congress in order to determine the best methods of realizing the figures prescribed by the Five Year Plan for the third year, heard from "the best disciple of Lenin" clearer indications than these and particularly more concrete ones. As one indication Stalin issued the slogan of "The Five Year Plan in 3 years". If for us, who read these trite and primitive reflections in Stalin's speech, this slogan appears to be unexpected and in crying contradiction to the entire mode of reasoning of the author, the directors of industry, the responsible executors of all the caprices of the general line, must have received this new slogan with rage in their hearts and fear in their souls. Which did not prevent them from applauding the orator excitedly.

In order to be able to judge if industry is capable of accelerating the rhythms of production in the year to come, we must pose one simple and logical question: the rhythms that had been prescribed for the past year—have they been attained? In spite of all the red tape of the official press, despite all the ever favorable statistics "enlisted in the service of the general line", Stalin was forced to admit that "industrial production which should have increased by 32 percent. in 1930 only increased 25 percent. The plan was not realized". Ordjonokidze, the reporter of the conference, had to add to this bitter admission "that the reduction of the cost price was not realized either" and in an even more dangerous measure: 7 percent. instead of 11 percent" (**Pravda**, Feb. 2, 1931.)

Let us not forget that between the second and the third year there was inserted a supplementary trimester: the second year, which was to end the 30 of September was extended three months, to the 31 of December, that is to say, that instead of the 32 percent. increase prescribed for 12 months only a 25 percent. increase was realized in 15 months.

But the slowing down of Soviet industry did not stop with the eve of the new year, on the 31 of December: socialist production, even less than capitalist production does not take stock in the superstition of the calendar, that the Stalinist bureaucrats have.

The **Pravda** of February 1, 1931, the very day of the conference of the directors and several days before the speech of Stalin, published the following note under the title "Alarm Signals": "the month of January d d not bring any changes in the realization of the industrial plan. The figures that we publish elsewhere show that if industry does not measure up to the previsions of the plan, the first trimester of the third year will be gravely compromised. These poor indices of industrial work are, of course, caused partially by the poor transport work, the functioning of which has been impeded by the hardships of winter. But that is no excuse. **The results of the industrial work of the 25 days of January are—an alarm signal** (emphasis by **Pravda.**)" The statistic tables of the work of the most important branches of industry for January 1931 published in the same number of **Pravda,** show that not a single one of the branches attained 100 percent. of plan this month. There are branches that realized only 39 percent. of the provisions. The percentage of monthly realization for most of the branches, like coal, coke, cast iron, steel, tractor production varies between 50 and 60 per cent.

We have witnessed then, only a few days ago, a considerable slow down for the first month of the third year. Added to this enormous slow down at the end of the second year, this global slow down very clearly endangers the realization of the Five Year Plan in four years. Under such conditions, what should have been the task of a serious leadership, conscious of its responsibilities? Such a leadership should have posed the real problem before the responsible leaders of industry and before the entire working class, that is, the task of Soviet industry to overcome its lagging behind in order to be able to advance. Instead of this, Stalin announces in a spirit of bragging and pomposity a still greater increase of the industrial rhythms and decrees the completion of the Five Year Plan in three years. Pure bluff and sleight of hand, for industry cannot be conducted by speeches nor by exclamations so narrowly and stupidly chauvinistic as: "there is not a fortress which we will not be able to capture."

The unheard of efforts of the working class of the Soviet Union are creating wonders. In these times of general economic crisis, Soviet production, equipped with a powerful weapon such as the concentrated power of the proletariat and a safeguarding armor like the foreign trade monopoly, progresses in unprecedented proportions. But the figures which **Pravda** gives and the altogether contradictory conclusions which Stalin draws from them in his speech, assure us once more that the magnificent achievements of the Soviet proletariat are obtained despite and against the Stalinist leadership. Stalin's speech will only cause the accumulation of new difficulties instead of liquidating the very burdensome ones of the two preceding years. The new slogan of Stalin endangers the realization of the Five Year Plan as a whole.

Stalin's speech from the first word to the very last, bears the imprint of a nationalist spirit.

"There is nothing impossible for the Russians". What support can Stalin expect from the international proletariat and the Comintern when he says disdainfully: "the Comintern? Cut off its victuals and it will no longer exist." (As the "chief of the world proletariat" confided to Lominadze).

Stalin devoted only a few words to the foreign countries; only to mock at Churchill and at Poincaré who "foam with rage against our party". The explanations of Stalin about the campaign of the bourgeoisie against the U. S. S. R. are just as simple and as impotent as the arguments in favor of the slogan of the Five Year Plan in three years: "why these yelps and these enraged attacks? Because our policies are correct".

The Marxist analysis of the antagonisms in the capitalist world is here replaced by the banality of the agitator. The capitalists who fight each other in a grave crisis seek to throw on the shoulders of the working class the burdens of this crisis (by legislation, through finanical and economic measures). But that is not enough. Menaced by this economic crisis, which in its development causes the crumbling of the regime, the bourgeoisie is forced to throw the responsibility of the crisis on its irreconcilable external enemy, the Soviet Union. It is alone with the aim of discrediting the Soviet Union in the eyes of the workers and to make it responsible for all the ills that strike them, that the bourgeoisie carries on its furious campaign against the U. S .S. R. In fact, when it raises a howl in its entire press against Soviet "dumping", it is not because the 1.5 percent. of Soviet trade "threatens to destroy civilization", or even to prevent capitalism from solving the present crisis, but in order to divert the attention of the masses from the responsibilities of its regime in this chronic post-war crisis and to direct their mrath against the Soviet state. The Soviet bogy has become a weapon of mass propaganda in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The **Temps** of February 7 says, commenting on Stalin's speech, that the struggle against "dumping"—as a result of the achievements of the plan—"is a vital question for the laboring masses; it is an economic and political question of prime importance for all of the civilized world". The demagogic preocupation with anti-Soviet propaganda is far stronger in the author of the article than the real fear of the achievements of the Five Year Plan. What other political value can one attach to this talk, when the most "serious" journal of the French bourgeoisie, studying in a fundamental article the question of industrialization in the U. S. S. R., speaks of the previsions of the Five Year Plan which according to it, are made "for the next four years". The pen slaves of the bourgeoisie do not even take the pains to study seriously the formulation and the functioning of the Five Year Plan. They must arouse the readers. They must make anti-Soviet propaganda. For that purpose all lies about the Soviet Union are good enough. The lie about the famine and the lie about the Soviet chaos have given place to the lie about "dumping" and about the threat to civilization that the Five Year Plan constitutes.

The methods of the bourgeoisie have not changed: the bourgeoisie always rules over the sentiment of the masses by means of lies. But must we Communists facilitate the work of the bourgeoisie by the same methods of falsehood and bluff?

Stalin at Moscow and the official party press abroad deceive the masses and deceive themselves when they say that the Five Year Plan, which has not to the present moment been realized within the limits of four years and which can hardly be realized in five years, is going to be completed in three years, that is to say, in 11 months. These methods of exaggeration and bluff are alien to the revolutionary movement. They arouse distrust and apathy in the masses. Stalin's speech and the campaign of the entire official party press around the false and deceptive slogan of the Five Year Plan in three years only lulls the watchfulness of a great part of the international proletariat and deepens the distrust of the broad masses of the people.

The Left Opposition does not hold a defeatist position in regard to the Soviet Union. The defense of the U. S. S. R. is one of the most important principles of its activity. But it poses the question of the defense of the U. S. S. R. and of the construction of socialism in the Soviet land in relation with the international movement of the proletariat The fate of Soviet economy and of the Five Year Plan depends in a large measure upon the intensity of the struggle of the world proletariat against capitalism. That is why the workers must know what the real situation of Soviet economy is. They must render themselves an account of the enormous difficulties that the Soviet workers face in the course of constructing socialism.

Stalin's speech and his slogan of the Five Year Plan in three years is full of exaggerations and big talk and throws dust into the eyes of the workers That is why we say that it constitutes a new danger for the Five Year Plan

MILL.

Ghandi Makes His Peace with Imperialism

By ALBERT GLOTZER

The splendid revolutionary struggle of the Indian masses against the rule of British imperialism has suffered another betrayal by their leader, Gandhi. It is not the first time that the "little man" played this ignominious rôle. In 1922, when the struggle for independence reached proportions threatening to the Empire, Gandhi was again at the helm of the movement—and then, as now, he was there to call off the fight at the moment when the ferment in the masses reached a point too dangerous to the tottering rule of Great Britian.

While the bourgeois press speculates as to who will profit more through the pact signed by Lord Irwin and Gandhi on March 4, 1931, the betrayal is unmistakable fact. In clause Five of the pact, it states:

"Civil disobedience will be effectively discontinued and reciprocal action will be taken by the Government. By effective discontinuance of the civil disobedience movement is meant the effective discontinuance of all activities in furtherance thereof by whatever methods pursued and in particular the following:

(a) **Organized defiance** of the provisions of **any law**; (b) **Movement for non-payment of land revenue and other legal dues**; (c) **Publication of news sheets in support of the civil disobedience movement**; (d) Attempt to influence **civil or military servants** or village officials against the government or to persuade them to resign their posts." (Emphasis mine—A. G.)

Gandhi adds, as if to make this more effective, I shall strain every nerve to make the provisional peace a **PERMANENT** one." (Emphasis mine—A. G.). In the name of the Nationalist Party, the Mahatma calls off the civil disobedience movement, the defiance of the salt laws,. non-payment of taxes, illegal assemblies, and mass picketing of factories and shops selling British goods. In return the Nationalist Party will be allowed to participate in the round-table conference to discuss Indian independence, and will have the right to continue the primitive manufacture of salt, which will however, continue to remain under the monopoly of the Empire.

The meaning of this truce is quite clear. It seeks to liquidate the revolutionary struggle and force into submission the rebellious masses. It leaves the proletariat and peasantry defenseless against the bitter exploitation of the British as well as their own bourgeoisie. In a word, it fulfills the wishes of the British imperialists and proves again that Gandhi is their loyal servant. He writes, on March 2, 1931, to Lord Irwin, " . . . I feel no hatred for the British, nor the least wish to harm their legitimate rights in this". Legitimate rights! This can only mean the right of British imperialism to loot and exploit India at its will.

Britain's fierce struggle against Indian independence is easily understood when it is realized that without India, there is no British Empire. This is the key to the question. What is necessary for the revolutionary proletariat of the world as well as for India, is to determine the rôle of Gandhi and the Nationalist Party. They represent the interests of the native bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes and in the present struggle, as in all others, they reflect the deep fermentation in the masses. When the movement of the revolutionary workers and peasants becomes too threatening, they enact the rôle of traitors.

Gandhi's policy of "non-violence" is a rejection of the revolutionary methods of struggle. It signifies capitulation to Great Britian, and in essence expresses a deep fear of the proletariat. It is this small but highly developed Indian proletariat that can give leadership to the impoverished peasant masses in the revolution, and it is the proletariat alone that can successfully carry through its tasks. This is precisely what the native bourgeoisie, in the person of Gandhi, fears most. Gandhi expresses this clearly when he says: "It is dangerous to make use of the factory proletariat"..

The significance of the revolution lies in its mass character, and the will to power by the masses. The objective conditions are ripe for the seizure of power. There remains however, the burning question of leadership in this struggle. It is upon the solution of this problem that the success of the Indian revolution depends. At present it constitutes the greatest weakness of the revolution.

The native bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie have conclusively demonstrated that they cannot lead the revolution to a victorious conclusion. They fear the revolution, and more than that they fear the proletariat. Only the Communists organized into a revolutionary party, with a correct program, can achieve the victory of the revolution. They can achieve it only as a dictatorship of the proletariat and in no other way. There are the lessons of all revolutionary struggles under imperialist capitalism.

What is needed today in India, is a strong Communist party to give leadership to the Indian masses. It is necessary to put forth the strategic aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat immediately. Without it, one of the main barriers in the road of the emancipation of India's workers and peasants—that is, the barrier artifically erected by Roy and the Right wing on one hand, and its Stalinist caricature on the other—will remain in the way.

Elections in the Amalgamated: What For?

By ALBERT ORLAND

The approaching annual elections in Cutters Local 4 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have caused not a little trouble to the local administration and also at the same time led to an outbreak of indignation and protest by the cutters against their chief official, manager Philip Orlofsky.

Elections have long been a serious problem to the Tammany labor official. Knowing well that his rule is hated by the membership, the local king, since his ascension to power several years ago, has never taken a chance in an election without first "making it safe" for himself, to use the Wilsonian expression. Various methods have been used for that purpose, from manipulating votes to the more effective means of entirely removing oppositions from the ballot. In this manner the present manager of the cutters' local has succeeded in re-electing himself to office year after year together with his administration of dummies whom he carefully picks from among the most unscrupulous and basest elements in the local.

Abolishing Elections

At this time, however, of unprecedented unemployment and great discontent among the membership, the safest thing for Orlofsky and his lieutenants is not to have any election at all and assure themeslves the offices for another year, and things would fare fairly well with them. The former "opposition" has, with the help of Hillman, been liquidated by a rapprochement with its office-seeking leaders who were placed in soft jobs a long time prior to the elections. The administration will even be able to pretend that it is very much concerned about economy, and would rather divert the money which an election entails into the relief fund for the unemployed.

But—and here is where the trouble comes in—there is a mischievous child in the house, and a member of the family at that. The present chairman of the local, a staunch supporter and trusted accomplice of Ph. Orlofsky in all his machinations, is determined at this time to advance himself to a paid office in the organization.

And lo and behold! This mischievous boy has proved to be a real "rebel". He refuses to budge for any consideration. A way must be found to remove him from the ballot. He must, in addition to that, receive his due punishment for defying his chieftain. The integrity and wisdom of the administration on the other hand, must be demonstrated before the membership.

A membership meeting of the local was called to consider a recommendation by the Executive Board to disqualify the candidacy of the present Local chairman for Business Agent at the coming elections on the ground that he has been engaged in selling insurance policies. Simultaneously, a recommendation has also been brought to bar all those engaged in sidelines while belonging to the union from seeking office for a period of two years.

The membership that crowded the large meeting room watched the performance of the verbal encounter between the corupt officals on the patform ike a crowd watches a sporting game without being concerned about the outcome, as though they were not directly involved. They have become so accustomed to such performances that these hardly produce any moral effect on them. They have long convinced themselves of the corruptness and treachery of their officials and therefore show indifference on such occasions.

However, as the fight between their manager and chairman progressed, the mutual attacks and accusations, as well as cynical utterances, revealed facts of corruption and treachery that caused a spontaneous outbreak of uncontrollable protest from the ranks that almost turned into a riot. With great difficulty order was established after general commotion. But the meeting ended in a "victory" for Orlofsky.

Rank Corruption

What were the facts brought out at the meeting? The following:

The manager accused the chairman of striving to advance his insurance business through the medium of a union office (there are strong rumors prevalent that the manager himself is engaged in a big business!), namely; in the manufacture of canvas for the clothing trade.

The chairman stated that in 1929, in the year previous to his election to the office of chairman, he sold insurance to the value of $385,000 and that in the year 1930, while chairman of the union, he sacrificed his business and is ready to give it up entirely and devote his entire energy to the union. (He did not, however, say to whom he sold his insurance). The manager proudly declares that he fears no opposition since he knows how to deal with oppositions.

The chairman accuses him of stealing elections, eliminating oppositions by means of intimidation and electing his executive board and staff in advance of the elections (which are a farce). The manager answers that the chairman has been an accomplice in all of his acts in the union and therefore cannot shake off his guilt for them.

The chairman makes a demagogic appeal to the members for support. He swears loyalty and devotion to the best traditions of the A. C. W. which are being trampled upon by Hillman and his hosts of conspirators. He claims to champion the membership's elementary rights to elect their own officials against the manager's autocratic rule.

The manager threatens to "chain and muzzle" him until he submits to his will.

Such are the facts laid bare before the members of the cutters' local at the meeting called by their officials on the eve of the coming elections in the Local. These facts have not been unknown to the members before, but the cynical and frank manner in which they were brought out by their officials were too insulting and irritating not to provoke an outburst of indignation on their part. Their patience has already been overtaxed and they are showing signs of awakening and a readiness for struggle. The struggle will be a hard one. But a beginning will have to be made. The cutters have for a long time kept aloof from the struggles of the A. C. W. members against their corrupt officials and their treacherous policies. Now they are facing the effects of the worsened conditions in the clothing industry and must join the tailors in their fight to defend their common interests. The cutters are beginning to realize this. The cutters' officials at the last meeting received a warning of the approaching storm in the organization. They will attempt to stave it off or stem it. But they cannot succeed. The misery and sufferings of the masses of the clothing workers has reached the climax. Too many grievances have accumulated. A revolt in the A. C. W. is unavoidable. In this revolt, the cutters will play their part. They may be destined to strike the first blow.

It is characteristic how the **Advance** of March 6 reports this meeting. In its customary lying manner the bureaucrats' mouthpiece tries to convey the impression to its readers that the entire membership present at the meeting participated in the voting and that the rank and file expressed their views in the discussion. At the same time the real question involved in the whole affair, the question of the elections and the maneuvers of the officials, is carefully covered up. No mention, of course, is made of the protests of the membership and the disturbance. The voice of the membership is not very pleasant to the bureaucrats' ears. It does not harmonize so well with the much vaunted "Amalgamated spirit" of which they prate in the columns of **Advance.**

Well, **Advance** is published not for the A. C. W. membership but for the outside world to broadcast the glory of the Amalgamated leadership and to win medals for Hillman. So why bother about it?

The Stalinists in the Hungarian Bureau Run Amuck

It took somewhat more than three years for Pepper, Lovestone, Gitlow and Weinstone to turn the Hungarian Buro of the party into a good Stalinist bureaucratic machine. It was not an easy job. Comrades of long standing in the movement had to be removed and expelled, to be replaced one by one with servile petty bourgeois elements of the declassed type, ready to serve any master. Yes, it was a hard job but it was done and for a number of years this petty bourgeois apparatus has been sitting in the sadle firmly and serenely, not only in the Hungarian Buro but in the auxiliary organizations as well. They are rather running amuck in consequence of some events which came like a bolt from the blue sky, or, to put it in a more prosaic way, from the Hungarian Sick Benefit and Educational Federation, the only Hungarian mass organization under party control.

Charges of Corruption

,This organization is the mainstay of the **Uj Elore,** the party's Hungarian daily. With its nearly five thousand members it is a recruiting ground for the party. It gives valuable support to the various party campaigns. It is a considerable financial source for the party. Looking over its financial report for the year of 1930, we find the following items in the expenditures: For the official organ (**Uj Elore**) $9,626.78 for educational and organizational purposes $4,643.88; for defense $509.72. The sum first mentioned went directly to **Uj Elore,** the second amount was spent by organizers appointed by the Hungarian Buro, the third went to the I. L. D. In various ways more than ten per cent of the total income was placed at the disposal of the party. Out of almost five thousand members not more than half a dozen used to protest once in a while against this support given to the party,—some non-working class, reactionary members, insignificant in numbers and devoid of any influence. The organization was called a milch cow for the party by all the reactionary newspapers as well as by the I W. W. and the S. L. P. In the face of attacks and reproaches from these sides, the organization took the correct and proud position of support to the leading, revolutionary party of the working class as the elementary duty of a labor organization worthy of the name.

On the other hand it must be admitted that such a correct position should not be taken by the party leaders as a license for mismanagement of the organization, for misuse of its fund for corruption in general. And this is what the party leadership stands accused of even by such members of the organization who for many years have been staunch supporters of the party.

Here are the facts:

Some time ago a hint was given to members of the Astoria branch by Friedenfeld, a party member, president of National Executive Committee, to the effect that "something is rotten in Denmark", an "investigation of the books of the organization would be in order," and so on. The branch took the hint and appointed an investigation committee, to go over the books of the national organization, such procedure being the constitutional right of any branch. Independently of the Astoria branch, a similar committee was elected by the New York (Yorkville) branch. Both committees found and reported the following cases of mismanagement and misuse of funds:

1. The Active Press, a party institution, got a loan of six thousand dollars from the Sick Benefit and Educational Federation. This loan was given for three years in 1927. In three years $1,100 was paid, at present the notes for the balance are in the safe of the organization, but in the meanwhile the Active Press was liquidated by the party and there is no one to pay the balance. Furthermore the Active Press owes to the organization $2,300 for rent and moving expenses. Since the Active Press was liquidated by the party this amount also must be regarded as bad debt.

2. The **Daily Worker** just now is making a strong and justified attack upon the **Russky Golos** for publishing an ad of some swindling real estate venture. The Uj Elore did something just as bad or worse. It ran the ads of a swindling stock scheme of Partos, the head of the Cornell Drug Stores. Although some of the bourgeois papers exposed the swindling operations of Partos and warned the Hungarian workers to beware of this faker, thousands of workers bought the worthless stocks because of the ads they read in the **Uj Elore.** This fellow paid for the ads with notes and after pocketing hundreds of thousands of dollars, ran his corporation into bankruptcy. The notes which the **Uj Elore** held for the amount of $1,800 became worthless. But this matter did not cause headaches for the Hungarian Buro. It turned over these worthless notes to the Sick Benefit and Educational Federation for cash.

3. The investigation committees found in the safe of the organization bad checks to the amount of $2,333, issued by the Active Press and the **Uj Elore.**

4. They found in the safe a note signed by Louis Kovess, a party leader, indorsed by Gustave Mayer, another party leader, for the amount of one hundred dollars. The note was payable in the month of March, last year. They found a bad check cashed for Hugo Gellert in the month of April, last year. They found other notes for various sums given to party members.

5. For several years there was a growing demand for the replacement of the assessment system with the more sound rate system. This proposition was rejected by the Hungarian Buro as "anti-proletarian". The proposition is now given up by the Buro, but the party leaders made an agreement with a Philadelphia lawyer who for the consideration of three thousand dollars undertook to secure permission from the Insurance Department of the State of Pennsylvania to let the Pennsylvania branches retain the unsound assessment system till 1932.

There were other instances of misuse of funds and mismanagement found by the investigation committees of the two braches. The Astoria committee submitted its report to the National Executive Committee of the organization. The party leaders denied the charges at the meeting, but something unexpected happened. The two national auditors took the floor and made a statement to the effect that every charge was true, they know of these cases of mismanagement and corruption, they kept silent about them under the pressure of the party leaders, but they refuse to shoulder the responsibility for such mismanagement. As a protest against it they tendered their resignation. One of these auditors, Piskothy, was a party member for a long time, left the party just recently, but remained a supporter of the Buro up to the time of these exposures.

Supporters Turned into "Fascists" Overnight

The party eaders took action at once. Day after day articles were published in **Uj Elore** about a great fascist conspiracy against the organization. Party members and ardent supporters of the party for many years, who dared to raise their voices against the corrupt acts of the party leaders were branded as fascists and the allies of fascists. They were turned into fascists by the party leaders overnight. In order to reinforce this campaign carried on in the party organ, four organizers were sent on the road to visit the branches throughout the country to expose the great "fascist conspiracy". Pressure was brought upon party members in various cities to send in correspondence expressing the unlimited confidence of the workers in the party leaders. The number of party members not being very impressive, letetrs were published in **Uj Elore** allegedly written by members and workers with signatures of "a member" and "a worker".

In some cases the attacks made on some members of the investigation committees have some justification. Two or three members of these committees had for years a very strong anti-Communist attitude, not so much on a theoretical basis but rather because of dissatisfaction wtih the way the affairs of the organizations were handled by the party. But the overwhelming majority of the opposition has always been composed of sincere and loyal supporters of the party. They are known as such by the masses of the workers. By branding them as fascists the party leaders hope to turn them against the party, to make them anti-Communists and then to have their charges dismissed on the ground that these charges, coming from a counter-revolutionary camp, are not worthy of consideration.

So far they have failed. The action taken by the committees is anything but anti-Communist. They made their report and recommendations to the branches. They demand the removal of the guilty party leaders. They reject any tendency to withraw support from the party or to overthrow the party control. They insist that rank and file party members should be elected to the National Executive Committee and that party control should be ideological rather than mechanical. They demand workers' democracy in the organization. In the face of all the provocation they declare that they are going to carry on the struggle within the bounds of the organization not for the dissolution of the relation between the organization and the party but for the elimination of corruption.

If the opposition sticks to this line, it will deserve support.

Beware of Dangers!

The appearance of any opposition within the movement is taken by all anti-Communist elements as a signal for a concerted attack upon the party, upon Communism. These elements will try to attach themselves to oppositions in the Communist movement. An opposition, no matter how justified, will degenerate if it does not reject such approaches in a clear-cut, decisive manner. The opposition in the Hungarian Sick Benefit and Educational Federation has failed to do this. This is a dangerous failure and if not corrected at once, will lead to its degeneration. Anti-Communist elements will offer help. It must be repudiated. The I. W. W. has taken up this fight and offers a remedy: to fight against corrupt leadership—replace the Marxian-Leninist theory with syndicalist notions. The opposition must disassociate itself from such elements in an unmistakable manner. Failure to do this means disaster for it and the strengthening of the very bureaucracy against whose corruption it began the fight.

There is another shortcoming of this opposition. It is its failure to understand the basic reasons for the situation. We shall take up this question in our next article.

—**Y. S.**

THE MILITANTS' BOOKSHELF

LENIN AND THE ISKRA PERIOD

Volume IV, The Collected Works of Lenin; The Iskra Period, Book 1. 336 Pages. International Publishers, New York.

Thirteen years after the Russian revolution and seven years after Lenin's death a serious beginning is made with the publication of his collected works in English at a price workers can afford. Such unpardonable tardiness has, of course, its own significance which need not be dealt with here. It is most important now to report that four volumes comprising six books have recently been published in the popular priced edition. American militants thus have access now to at least a good part of this long-buried treasure. For this we must be grateful. The first book of volume IV, devoted to the early Iskra period, can only be a source of deep satisfaction to one who has the opportunity to read it.

What the incomparable leader wrote in this book, which covers a part of the formative period of the Bolshevik Party (1900-1902), has the most vital import for the American Oppositionists who follow in his path and who stand, as Lenin and his coworkers stood then, before the task of assembling and training the nucleus of the future party of proletarian struggle and victory. No duty is more pressing than the conscientious study of these volumes; no task will be more quickly and abundantly compensated. The words of Lenin himself, in contradistinction to the interpretations of those who speak in his name, reveal the indissoluble unity of the ideas of the International Opposition with the ideas of Lenin and reinforce conviction in them.

"Our teaching", said Engels, "is no dogma but a manual of action." And no less can be said of the teaching of Lenin who understood the doctrines of Marx and Engels in this sense and so applied them. The study of his works therefore cannot be a mere exercise in historical research. His writings are to be conceived rather as textbooks on the strategy of the proletarian revolution. They dishonor and distort Lenin who reduce his teachings to a system of lifeless formulae. The thing is to grasp their living essence, and its application to our own time and place. In other words to study his writings not as pedants but as revolutionaries.

The Iskra "Declaration"

Iskra [The Spark], as most of our readers know, was the paper founded by Lenin in 1900. One of the most interesting documents in the volume under review is the "Declaration by the Editorial Board of Iskra" which appeared in its first issue and outlined the ideas and aims of the editors. Iskra made its first appearance at a time of rise in working class activity, when the spontaneous labor movement was running ahead of its conscious political organization. The ideas of "Economism"—that is, of limiting the political work of the Social Democrats—were being propagated by an influential group of leaders. The Social-Democratic movement of the time consisted of loosely connected circles, and was lacking in a uniform program and cohesive organization. Lenin dedicated the Iskra to the task of uniting the political movement and overcoming the opportunist doctrines of Economism.

The "Declaration" declared war on revisionism, on Economism and the "effort to push into the background the task of forming a revolutionary party to lead the struggle at the head of the whole people". Thus from the very beginning Lenin brought revolutionary theory into the foreground. "Narrow practicality", he wrote in the first draft of the Declaration, "detached from the theoretical conception of the movement as a whole may destroy the contact between Socialism and the revolutionary movement in Russia on the one hand, and the spontaneous labor movement on the other." These words have a direct and immediate import today, especially for those Communists immersed in trade union work who tend to "lose" themselves in details. The conception of the party, as the highest form of proletarian organization—its unifying and directing force—was always uppermost in Lenin's thought as it is unfolded on the pages of this book.

The American Communist movement, including all of its factions, represents far less a political force than did the Social Democratic movement of Russia during the early Iskra period. And in view of its disintegration into factions it cannot justly be said that it is more united. If the Social Democrats of Russia at the time constituted a disunited propaganda body, no more can be said for our present movement. How then does our party régime, with its regimentation of thought and its barracks-discipline, compare with Lenin's appraisal of the situation and the tasks? In the Declaration Lenin poses the question of uniting the movement. Foster, if we are not mistaken, also stands for unity—only the methods are somewhat different.

Lenin proposed a free discussion in the columns of the two journals (Iskra and Zarya). "They must reflect", he wrote, "all shades of opinion, all local peculiarities, and all the various political methods." His plan was to unite the movement through a free ideological struggle in which polemics would not be suppressed but rather encouraged.

He wrote: "Open polemics, conducted in the sight and hearing of all Russian Social Democrats and class-conscious workers, are necessary and desirable in order to explain the profoundness of the differences that exist, in order that disputed questions may be discussed from all angles, to combat the extremes into which representatives of various views, various localities, or various branches of the revolutionary movement invariably fall. **Indeed, we regard one of the drawbacks of the present-day movement to be the absence of open polemics between avowedly differing views, an effort to conceal the differences that exist over extremely fundamental questions."** (Our emphasis.) One has only to read these lines to comprehend the chasm which separates the real Lenin from the epigones.

And that is not to say that Lenin had in mind a discussion from which no conclusions would be drawn. His aim, was to draw clearly the lines of demarcation. The publication was not to be merely a "storehouse for various views. On the contrary, we shall conduct it along the lines of a strictly defined tendency. This tendency can be expressed by the word Marxism." Unity, said the heretic of 1900, "cannot be brought about by simply giving orders." For that idea alone he would be expelled in 1931.

Lenin the Orthodox Marxist

Lenin was an orthodox Marxist. This fact leaps out from every page of his writings. They are profoundly wrong, therefore, who attempt to set Lenin up as a theoretician beside Marx, that is, in opposition to Marx. Lenin's own writings refute this idea. Bolshevism came into being, as he himself said in "Left Sickness," on the granite foundations of Marxian theory. A study of Lenin's works is therefore at the same time a study of Marxism. If Engels was the greatest popularizer of Marx's doctrines in a general sense, then Lenin was undoubtedly the greatest popularizer of the same doctrines in a special and particular sense. Lenin's method was primarily the method of polemic and of concrete application. Through Lenin the word of Marx was illustrated in the deed. It was Trotsky who once remarked that the best road to Marx was through Lenin. In this book, which from first to last is a demonstration of Marxist truth in the heat of polemical battles, one can see a remarkable confirmation of this thought.

This is shown with singular clarity in the pamphlet, "The Agrarian Question And The Critics of Marx," which makes up a full third of the first of the two books devoted to the Iskra period. Here some of the most difficult problems of Marxism are elucidated with an A. B. C. simplicity. Moreover the pamphlet demonstrates the painstaking and thorough research with which the destined leader of the Russian revolution had informed himself for this conflict with the "critics". Thereby he was not only able to rout the "law of diminishing returns" on theoretical grounds alone. This "law", brought forward by the "critics" in support of the "superiority" of small-scale farming, was also demolished in Lenin's pamphlet by a detailed analysis of statistics showing the actual trend of the development of agriculture in the opposite direction.

How significant this polemic was for the Russian revolution can be estimated, for example, by citing a couple of well-known historic facts. Lenin, who defended Marxism on the agrarian question, stood, in the decisive hour, at the head of the victorious proletariat; Chernov, against whom the polemic was directed, didn't recognize the revolution when it arrived and found himself on the other side of the barricade with his Social Revolutionary party. It is no secret that American revolutionaries have yet to undertake a serious study and application of Marxism on the agrarian question. That necessary study can very well begin with Lenin's pamphlet referred to here.

Lenin was an all-sided leader, unique in all history. Nothing escaped him or was beyond his attention. The party he created, for which history has no comparable example, bears testimony to the work of a genius in whom theory and practice, in all their ramifications, were united. Take the single question of the rôle of leaders, and the collective work of the group of leaders —which he truly described as an art, and an art, we may say parenthetically, which is all too little known—and see with what attentiveness he studied the problem, and solved it in advance. Lenin, the theorist and practical leader in one, knew — what pedants and formalists will never know— that such a question as the personal relations between leaders can often play an enormous, even if not a finally decisive rôle. Did he not speak in the last testament to the Party of the rudeness of Stalin and "the relations between Stalin and Trotsky" as constituting "a big half of the danger of that split" he wanted to prevent? In direct connection with this danger of split he made his proposal to remove Stalin from the post of Party Secretary. And in this book there is a very illuminating article which bears the title, "How The Spark Was Nearly Extinguished" Therein he shows how the newspaper enterprise with its great political aims was once on the point of disruption because of the arbitrary cinduct of Plekhanov and "the spoiled **personal** relations" which ensued from it. Leaders who master the art of working together greatly enhance thereby their usefulness to the revolution.

Not the least of the qualities of Lenin's matchless genius was his unfailing ability to combine realism with far-sighted vision. He knew what he wanted and how to get it. And he also **knew the next step.** That is a remarkable combination, and a rare one. Trotsky, in his Autobiography, speaks of the Menshevik Martov who, in revolutionary situations had thoughts for all questions "except the all-important question: What to do next?" And of Lenin he remarked that in all his preoccupations with matters great and small the goal was never absent from his thought. But together with that, as has been said, he concentrated on the task of the moment. He used the expression about grasping "the next link in the chain" so often that it has become a truism for the movement; repeated often enough, unfortunately, by people who could not grasp it as surely as Lenin did. If one could sum up the impression received from this first book of writings during the Iskra period in a word it would be to say: Lenin gives here a series of object lessons in the art of keeping sight of the goal and knowing what to do next in the struggle toward the goal.

"Where To Begin"

This is the essential quality of the notable article reprinted from the fourth number of Iskra which appeared in May, 1901, and called, "Where To Begin". There he outlined a system and plan of practical activity which would be consonant with the permanent interests of the movement and lead in the direction of its final aims. This article stirred up a great commotion throughout the ranks of the Russian Social-Democrats and—in an extended form—became the basis upon which the future nucleus of the Bolshevik faction was concentrated. The scattered and disunited character of the movement, the kind of an organization needed, and the first steps toward its creation—these were the questions he put and answered in "Where To Begin".

First of all he called for the formation of a fighting political organization. "Work for the establishment of a fighting organization [he said] must be carried on under all circumstances, no matter how 'drab and peaceful' the times may be, and no matter how low the 'depression of revolutionary spirit' has sunk. More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such periods that this work is particularly required: for it would be too late to start building such an organization in the midst of uprisings and outbreaks. The organization must be ready when the moment arrives." These words were true for Czarist Russia thirty years ago, and they are no less true for America today. Even now it is necessary to prepare for the future day.

The organization he projected was to be a **political** organization: in other words a party. Lenin was an irreconcilable foe of all eclecticism, narrow-mindedness and localism. The movement had to be united on a national scale; it had to invest all its detailed activities with a sweeping perspective of revolutionary overthrow. He wrote: "Our movement, intellectually as well as practically (organizationally), suffers most of all from being scattered, from the fact that the vast majority of Social-Democrats are almost entirely immersed in local work, which narrows their point-of-view, limits their activities and affects their conspiratorial skill and training. It is to this fact of being scattered that we must ascribe the vacillation and the hesitation to which I have referred above".

The Rôle of a Newspaper

And the first task upon which he demanded the concentration of the movement, in preparation for its unification on a principled basis into a political organization which, in turn, would organize the revolutionary victory of the proletariat, was the establishment of a newspaper. "The **first step** toward removing this defect" said the article, "and transforming several local movements into a united national (All-Russian) movement is the establishment of a national All-Russian newspaper. Finally, it is a **political** paper we need. Without a political organ, a political movement deserving that name is impossible in modern Europe. . . .

"But the rôle of a paper is not confined to the spreading of ideas, to political education and to procuring political allies. A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer."

The article "Where To Begin" was a brief synopsis of the views he was to elaborate a few months later in his famous pamphlet "What is to be done?". In this pamphlet, which became a cornerstone of Bolshevism, Lenin settled accounts with the Economists and, with the revisers and "critics" of Marx. He elucidated the limitations of trade unionism with a profound insight which the whole history of international syndicalism has completely vindicated. He outlined the rôle of the Party—extending and concretizing Marx's theory of the vanguard—and brought forward for the first time the project of a body of **professional revolutionaries** who would devote their lives wholly to the revolution and take upon themselves the leadership and direction of the entire movement. "What Is To Be Done" is part of the contents of the second book of the volume devoted to the Iskra period and as such will be the subject of review another time.

—J. P. C.

THE REPRESSION IN SPAIN

PARIS.—

The repression of Admiral Aznar yields in no respect to that of Berenguer. It is directed against the worker militants. The monarchy wants to stifle in advance the voice of the proletarian revolution, while it plays the politician with the bourgeois republicans to whom it offers ministerial portfolios in its golden cage.

The Spanish Communist Party hardly exists. At the present moment, it has neither unity, nor cadres, nor clear perspectives. The first task of the Communists in Spain is to invest their party with organization and a political platform. This work has hardly been begun. Let us add that it cannot be conducted properly except through the tenacious efforts of the Opposition.

In the meanwhile, the militants are being constantly flung into prison. The approach of a period of electoral agitation now an dthen causes some doors to open while others are being closed. Our comrade Andres Nin, who had been arrested during the December events, has now been released. The same is true of our comrade Jose Soriano. Esteban Bilbao and Justo Solozabal have also been let go.

But our comrade Lacroix remains imprisoned in Valencia, where he has been for more than eight months. Comrade **Garcia Lavid**, condemned to five years imprisonment, remains at Ocana. His brother, Luis Garcia Lavid, has also just been arrested at Bilbao. In the same city, our comrade Leonato Miguel has been arrested too.

All these Opposition Communists are in the front ranks in the revolutionary struggle. They are setting the example in political firmness and proletarian courage. We shall return to the general political situation in Spain in a coming number.

HAS YOUR SUBSCRIPTION EXPIRED?

This issue of The Militant is No. 65
If the number on your wrapper is less than 65, you should renew your subscription. All expirations will be cut off the mailing list unless renewal is received before the next number goes to press.

Organization Notes

BOSTON—Our branch here is now on a better working basis. For some months difficulties existed, arising out of disagreements on how to proceed with practical activities, with the result that the branch work suffered and opportunities available were not fully taken advantage of. These difficulties are now eliminated.

At the public meeting arranged Feb. 28th, comrade Swabeck spoke, substituting for Cannon who was unable to be present. About 75 workers attended the meeting and several took part in a very lively discussion on the subject "Prospects for the New Unions." This became the beginning toward overcoming difficulties. At a branch meeting which followed, the existing problems came up for exhaustive discussion. Complete agreement on all fundamental principles very soon ironed out all past differences and plans for future work could go ahead.

Our members in Boston are very active in the trade unions, in other workers' organizations as well as in the unemployment movement. A record of years of devoted work in the front ranks of the workers' struggles has gained for them considerable influence, so much so that petty factional attempts by local Stalin bureaucrats could not in the least impair their standing. This is one very good promise for even better success in future activities.

CHICAGO—Beginning with March first our Chicago branch has conducted a series of lectures every Sunday, 2:30 P. M., at 30 N. Wells St. with local comrades speaking on subects vital to the working class movement. The first meeting held March 1st, was a success. Hugo Oehler spoke on the subject of "Trotsky, Stalin and the Theory of Socialism in One Country." A little better than 75 workers attended, several of them representing their views in the discussion following the lecture.

These meetings are being continued through the month of March. By the time this issue goes to press the second and third lecture of the series will have been held. For the second lecture the subject was "Trotsky, the Left Opposition and the Five Year Plan" and for the third "Unemployment, the Six Hour Day and the Communist Party". The final lecture for the month will be by Hugo Oehler on March 22, on the subject "The Three Currents of the Communist Movement and Revolutionary Perspectives".

ST. LOUIS, MO.—From a point of intense activities, leading a substantial unemployment demonstration and conducting lectures during the early part of the present crisis, our small branch in St. Louis witnessed somewhat of a relapse. Activities decreased up until almost the present moment when the comrades are again pulling themselves together and taking steps to reestablish the branch as a functioning unit. Arrangements are now made for a speaking date in the city for comrade Oehler for which further definite announcements will appear in the next issue. His visit will also be utilized for a special branch meeting to take up concrete plans for practical activities for the future.

THE PACIFIC COAST—Scattered contacts in the San Francisco and Los Angeles territories are beginning to spread our literature more effectively. It is speeded on by the general increase of working class activities on the Pacific Coast. Comrade Curtis, who is traveling there, has utilized the opportunity to help along getting a better distribution for the **Militant** and for our general literature. That there is something in the offing is very definitely indicated by the increasing orders for the Trotsky pamphlets. One agency in Los Angeles, the Belmont News Company is distributing a large supply, one order alone running to 200 pamphlets.

FROM THE NATIONAL OFFICE—Our Second National Conference is now definitely scheduled to be held in New York City the first week in July. Within a few weeks we will begin publication of draft theses and resolutions and prepare for a discussion based upon this material.

Our first supply of 25,000 unemployment leaflets is now just about exhausted. Practically all of the branches have taken part in the distribution. Our publishing activities now include six different pamphlets by comrade Trotsky all of which are off the press and in circulation. Full description with price, etc., appears elsewhere. We now have in preparation "The Permanent Revolution" also by L. D. Trotsky,—a book of about 200 pages.

THE PROGRAM OF EXPANSION CAMPAIGN

Recent information from England shows the definite development of two organized groups adhering to the international Communist Left Opposition. One, a group of Indian comrades now in London and the other a group of members of the British Communist Party. With that, there has been a rapid increase of our literature sales. Militant bundle sales have trebled within the past few weeks, pamphlet sales have witnessed an almost similar increase. Both of these developments urge more speed toward the completion of our Program of Expansion.

We are, however, only just beginning. In addition to progress formerly reported, we now have word from our small New Haven branch, each member of which will take one certificate. The Kansas City branch secretary states: "we endorse the program and will do all we can to put it over 100 percent with cash also. The program is sound and you will soon receive a check from us as a starter". When the Kansas City branch members speak this way we know they mean it. It is attested by their regular remittance each monh, on the dot, of $20.00 for the sustaining fund.

The New York branch has proceeded to complete its part of the program in a systematic manner. Each member making pledges for a cash contribution has a definite time limit set when payments are to be completed. A committee has charge of organization. When a member misses a meeting he is communicated with on his payment, in a similar manner sympathetic workers are being approached, first by a letter and followed up by a personal visit.

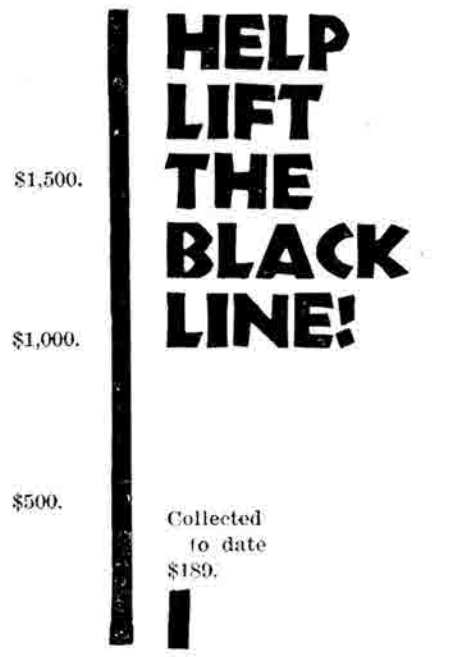
The first steps have been taken to launch the publishing company and print the certificates for the $10.00 contributions. This is the first part of the program becoming a reality. The International Bulletin of the Left Opposition is now appearing. The first issue is out, price 15 cents, the second issue will be out in less than a week. Thus step by step as the branches, members and sympathetic workers give the necessary support, the plan is being realized.

Contributions received since last report are as follows:

Roll Call on the Program of Expansion

M. Lewitt	$ 10.00
H. Capelis	15.00
M. Sterling	10.00
M. Engel	15.00
M. Rose	2.00
J. P. Cannon	5.00
L. Basky	10.00
Total	$ 67.00
Previously reported	122.00
Total to date	$ 189.00

Expansion Program Record



PARIS COMMUNE AFFAIR

The New York branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) is holding a celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Paris Commune on Saturday, March 21, 1931, at the Hungarian Hall, 323 East 79th Street. The arrangements committee has made every effort to assure an enjoyable evening for all the rebels of New York who come down to the affair. There will be music by a capable orchestra, dancing and other entertainment. Brief remarks will be made by one of the active comrades on the significance for the working class and revolutionary movements of the Paris Commune of 1871. Tickets for the affair are fifty cents in advance and sixty cents at the door (hat check included in the ticket). All friends and sympathizers of the movement are very cordially invited.

LETTERS from the MILITANTS

STALINIST DECAY IN ENGLAND

LONDON.—

I suppose the situation over here must seem rather perplexing to one abroad, and it would be very different to explain in a letter. At the present time dissatisfaction exists everywhere. It doesn't matter with whom one comes in contact: members of the C. P., I. L. D., Labor Party, Minority Movement, trade unionists, and so on, discontent is everywhere. The question is of course how to harness this discontent.

In every big dispute of late, and we have had a few—miners, textile workers, etc.,—our crowd have been absolutely out of the picture. I could give quite a few instances here in London of just local strikes in which the workers were solid and prepared to fight, but the offer of assistance and help from the Minority Movement or the Communist party was point blank refused. Two good comrades whom I know quite well were met only a couple of weeks ago with "the only assistance we want is: keep away". The last desperate effort of the party here to make a splash is the "Workers' Charter" campaign they're running, but from reports I am of the opinion that the big conference will be a washout. That is, as far as being a representative conference is concerned. Instructions have been sent out that delegates must be got, no matter what they represent. So we are going to have the usual mass meeting of a thousand people called delegates, and every group of ten or more will be allowed to send their number as delegates.

According to the latest data, the party membership is now below 1,000. It started ten years ago with 5,000, during the General Strike it reached nearly the 10,000 mark. The **Daily Worker** circulation has dropped from 10,000 when it started to less than 5,000. When one thinks that at one time the **Workers' Weekly** reached the 70,000 mark, and the **Sunday Worker** at one period reached 110,000, it makes one want to vomit.

—BLACK DIAMOND.

THE INDIVIUDAL AND THE REVOLUTION

CHICAGO.—

Of late my only source of real Communist information seems to be the **Militant**, and so I decided to ask you to be kind enough to clear up the following question for me.

One of the comrades made a statement that "If not for Lenin and Trotsky the Russian revolution would have been a failure", meaning that it would not have worked out to be a proletarian revolution.

Now, with all the respect that I have for these two people—in fact, I feel that if something serious should happen to Trotsky I don't know who there is to look to as an authority from the Marxist point of view—I still don't think the above statement is correct. If it were correct that would mean that leaders are responsible for historic events and not conditions. Please tell me what I can read on the subject and also express your opinion.

—H. MASHOW.

(It is in no sense a violation of the Marxist conception of historical development—on the contrary, it is its living essence—to say that objective conditions alone are inadequate for the accomplishment of the proletarian revolution. Just as one chemical reagent is required to act upon another to make a precipitate, so man, socially organized, is required to intervene at given stages of historical progress, is enabled to influence the course of history to an enormous degree. Man makes his own history, said Marx, although not out of the whole cloth; to make it, he must use the materials at hand at the given moment. This is especially true at the moment of the proletarian uprising. Given the **objective conditions**, without which not even the most superhuman efforts of men can "make" a revolution, it is possible for the most clear-headed, far-sighted, boldest elements of the working class—the revolutionary party—to place itself at the head of the proletariat and establish it as the ruling class by the overthrow of bourgeois class domination. This is what happened in Russia, but the ground for it was laid mainly by Lenin after his arrival from Swiss exile. The **fact** is that prior to his arrival, practically **every single one** of the Bolshevik party leaders did not see an inch further than the bourgeois revolution. To put on the order of the day the seizure of power by the proletariat was as far from the minds of Stalin, Rykov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Molotov, Nogin, and the others as the sun from the moon. To read Lenin's polemical writings at that time (particularly against Kamenev, one of the leaders of the Right wing who accused Lenin of . . . Trotskyism) is to understand the enormous obstacles Lenin found in the way of swinging the party chiefs to his point of view which was, of course, identical with Trotsky's. Had it not been for Lenin's historic struggle inside the party, which culminated in the final adoption of the famous April theses, it is open to considerable doubt if the Bolshevik party would have accomplished in time that "ideological re-armament" of which Trotsky speaks. And without this rearmament. The Bolshevik party would have missed the revolutionary opportunity created by objective conditions as surely as it was missed by the Brandler-Thalheimer leadership in Germany in 1923.

We are not partisans of the petty bourgeois theory of "great men" and their all-determining rôle in history. But there is no virtue, and no Marxism, in the theory that men, grouped together and even singly at times, have no particular bearing on the shaping of history. A vivid picture of the contrary, relating especially to the point raised by comrade Mashow, is given by comrade Trotsky in various sections of his book "My Life".—Ed.)

THE NEW YORK OPEN FORUM

The Open Forum of the New York branch of the Communist League, on February 28 and March 7, at the Labor Temple, 14th Street near 2nd Avenue, where Max Shachtman and James P. Cannon respectively led the discussions were most interesting. The respective subjects were closely related, Max having spoken on the third division in the Socialist party (the "Militant" gorup) and Cannon having explained and exposed the socalled "progressives". Present at both meetings were party members and Lovestoneites. Animated discussion took place each time.

The Leninist principle of the united front, rather than the zig-zags of the Centrists and in contrast to the liquidationist tendency of the Right wingers, was ably championed as the only means of ending the influence of the Stanleys and Mustes and bring their worker-supporters closer to Communism.

The more there are of such meetings as these, the clearer it will become to all honest and intelligent workers that the political position of the Left Opposition is revolutionary to the core.

—GEO. J. SAUL.

THE ANTI-RED DRIVE IN GREECE

(Continued from page 3)

mentary propaganda and educational nuclei of the same organization.

The tribunal has condemned the following Archio-Marxists under the anti-Communist law: Panaghiotidos, to 8 months in prison and two in deportation: Moustakos, to the same sentence; Tsirigotis, to six months in prison and two in deportation; Papnicolaou, to four months imprisonment an two in deportation: the others, to 75 days.

The correspondent of the newspaper **Acropolis** writes from Salonica:

"For two years the Communists have been divided into two camps, fighting each other bitterly. From this struggle have issued forth the Archio-Marxists whose new theory is based on a firmer and more scientific organization of the followers of revolution. The Archio-Marxists are working on the basis of precise instructions and a complete program. They are filled with faith and fanaticism and are ready to die upon command. They are a sort of Cheka [?].

"In the house of Panaghiotides there were arrested the day before yesterday, young men and women who have been initiated into Communism. The students arrested have for the most part confessed: "Yes, we have come to learn lessons in Communism in order to teach others. The working class is being heavily oppressed. The present régime must be overthrown.'"

Against the terror and the attacks of the capitalist class in Greece and everywhere, the Communists of the entire world, no matter what faction they belong to, must present a united front of revolutionary struggle. In Greece, in Spain, in France and in the United States the members of the Opposition have suffered under the lash of ruthless capitalist justice, together with all real Communist militants. The members of the Left Opposition have been and always will be found in the ranks of the class struggle. In our fight side by side with the militants of the party we shall yet have occasion to propose concrete lines of workers' defense. In the meantime, we call upon all workers to protest energetically against the white terror in the Balkans.

Protest against the reprisals of the Venizelos dictatorship!

Free all class war prisoners!